1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

ber of victims required and the places where they would be found. People then went to look at the place indicated for the number of victims fixed by the *tau'a*. If the victims designated had not been found at the place indicated by him he would have been regarded as an impostor and no longer a *tau'a*. But the natives say that he was never mistaken.

A priestess possessed by a god or demon (*etua hooka*) made the same evolutions. If she took in her hand a *hoto* (pointed stick of ironwood), it was a sign that human victims were necessary. If she took nothing but a piece of sugar cane, it was a sign that they were not necessary. She wore nothing upon her body but a waist cloth. Relatives could prevent her from making these excursions or evolutions by hiding her loin cloth, thus leaving her entirely naked.

The Sanctity of a Tau'a

The sanctity of the *tau'a* was greater than that of any other member of the tribe. When he was possessed, or when he died, the whole tribe was under a ceremonial *tapu*, which required that no work be done, that no one circulate in the valley, that no fire be lighted, and that no one anoint himself which coconut oil nor with saffron. His great sanctity may easily be understood when one considers that the living man himself was regarded as a god, at most times being called *atua*, god. According to Père Siméon, even the shadow of his house was *tapu*. When a *tau'a* died on Fatu Hiva, his house and all his possessions were burned. His body was so sacred that it could not be touched by anyone. Hence it was not treated and mummified, as other bodies were, but was carried on a bier to a cave in the mountains and there left to decompose. Mr. Linton has given me some interesting examples of the way in which property could be rendered *tapu* by naming it after a *tau'a*. This custom, discussed under Names, made it possible for individuals or a group to restrict a piece of property by giving it a sacred name that belonged to them, thus consecrating the property to themselves. Garcia (14, p. 52) speaks of one *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva, who at his death made red a *tapu* color—thereafter all red things were sacred to him, even fruits and animals.

Private Life of a Tau'a

The evidence of modern informants as to whether *tau'a* married and had families is conflicting. According to some they were allowed to have nothing at all to do with women; others say that they associated with women, when not functioning ceremonially, but had no children; while still others say that intercourse with women was *tapu* only during the performance of rites, but that during the rest of the time *tau'a* might have a family life exactly as did every other member of the tribe. The rules or customs regarding this may have varied in different places. Certain it is, from various sources of evidence, that some *tau'a* had wives and children. The family of a *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva is described by Stewart

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(26, pp. 306-307) and the legend of the flight of the Na-iki from Atu Ona, which has been quoted, describes the *tau'a* of that tribe as having wife and children. If the office of inspirational priest was inherited, as it seems to have been usually, it goes without saying that such priests married. It is certain that recent *tau'a* in Pua Ma'u and Fatu Hiva married.

Costume of a Tau'a

The only type of dress distinguishing an inspirational priest from anyone else was his headdress. This is said to have been called at Pua Ma'u *pa'e hei pepe atua* (*pepe atua*, many gods). I could obtain no description of this headdress there. Stewart (26, p. 220) describes a *tau'a* wearing on his head "a dried banana leaf neatly and ingeniously wrought into a becoming toque," and elsewhere (26, p. 304), another wearing a tapa turban. In war they wore what was called the *hei pe'a* or *hei makamaka*, an ornament of cock's plumes for the head. According to Père Siméon (7) their heads were always shaved, and they are also described as having white beards and wearing collars made of boars' tusks (14, pp. 63-65). Stewart (26, p. 305) describes such a priest wearing a long white mantle and over it a shorter mantle of red imported cloth. It has already been pointed out that red was *tapu* to a certain deceased inspirational priest on Nuku Hiva. A woman now living in Pua Ma'u described to Mr. Linton a *tau'a* whom she saw wearing a red blanket in the sacred place of that valley. The iron-wood staff called *hoto*, the form of which is unknown, and three fau sticks wrapped in cloth, were the distinguishing insignia of the *tau'a*. (See Sacred Precincts: The Inspirational Priest's House). Such priests were tattooed like other men.

Death and Deification of a Tau'a

On the occasion of the sickness of an inspirational priest a human sacrifice was offered (18, p. 149). It is said that when such a priest had died a leaf of fruit of a *noni* tree or of some other plant that irritated the skin or was otherwise offensive was placed on the body "so that the *tau'a* would not be hungry." The object of this was evidently to prevent the powerful spirit from lingering about the body. It was necessary that an inspirational priest should always die in the sacred precincts of the tribe, where a special house was built for his body. Following his death, there was a general *tapu* and the rites described under Death were performed: chanting, sacrifices, and treating of the body [according to Père Pierre (4), contradicted in Fatu Hiva]. According to Garcia (14, p. 45) from seven to ten victims were offered on the occasion of such rites, a victim being offered for the different parts of the body of the priest, for the head, eyes,

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

days until the perfumed oil ran out from the flowers and powder. To this perfumed oil fresh coconut oil was added. The *pani* was then put away in small closed coconut containers or in bamboo joints closed at the end with a *fau* leaf tied tgihtly in place. Sandal wood (*puahi, Santalum freycinetianum*) was grated and mixed with coconut oil to make another kind of ointment called *poa panu,* which was used both on the body and head. *Huhe,* an ointment used to make brilliant the bodies of the living at festivals and of the dead on their biers, consisted of coconut oil, to which had been added a little *ena,* fruit of the *pu'a kokuu* (?), and sweet-scented flowers—in other words, it was common *pani* to which was added *ena* and *pu'u kokuu.*

A man and a woman each had to prepare his and her own coconut oil. It was believed that a man who used a woman's head oil would become blind (9). Sexual intercourse was *tapu* while oil was being made (18, p. 138).

Painting the body with white earth was a practice of old people at memorial festivals, the object being to exaggerate their decrepitude (4). On Hiva Oa I was told that younger men would sometimes do this at festivals to make themselves look like old men (*ha'a ko'oua*).

OTHER ADORNMENTS

Women dancers wore, tied to their fingers with coconut fiber, long white tail feathers of the tropic bird, the feathers projecting up from the backs of the fingers. Sometimes the white beard ornaments called *pavahina* were worn on the hands in this way, instead of the feathers. This mode of ornamentation was called *kihi.* Langsdorff (18, p. 158) states that six rings, ornamented with tail feathers of the tropic bird, "are put on each middle finger of the dancers." The feathers used for these ornaments were procured by catching birds on high rocks at night. The birds were never killed but, after the tail feathers had been pulled out, were allowed to go.

The fans (*tahi'i*) with elaborately carved handles (fig. 26, *a*) appear to have been used by both sexes, and to have been reserved as part of the dress or insignia of chiefs, chiefesses, and priests on ceremonial occasions. These were made by especial *tuhuna.* The woven part was sometimes plastered with white clay. The carved handles were made of ironwood or human bone polished with coconut oil. These elaborate fan handles were family heirlooms. Fans were made both of coconut leaf and pandanus.

The *kohe pe'a,* according to Dordillon, was an ornament consisting of long cock's plumes attached to the end of a stick. The *koke tata* is described as an aigrette of cock's plumes on the end of a piece of bamboo.

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SPORTS AND GAMES

STILT WALKING

The form of stilts (*vaeake* or *tapu vae; hoki* on Ua Huka, *titoko* on Ua Pou) is shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 27, *d*). The stilts with the elaborately carved foot-rests were undoubtedly those used ceremonially. Anciently stilts were made of *mi'o* or casuarina by professional stilt-makers (*tuhuna vaeake*). According to Linton they were "decorated with white tapa covered by ornamental lashings of red and black sennit (20). Those used for play by boys were doubtless made of *fau*, as are the stilts that boys amuse themselves with today—the foot-rests of these consist of a notched piece of wood lashed to the shaft.

The use of stilts was strictly forbidden to women. Contests between champions of tribes constituted the central feature of one of the great memorial feasts for the dead (see Festivals). The mode of conducting the contests is described in connection with that feast. A woman who had witnessed such a contest described the men of the opposing parties as filing into the dance area in two long lines. Langsdorff (18, pp. 136, 168-169) gives the following descriptions:

> The best runners on stilts, who perform at the public dancing festivals, are tabooed three days before; they do not, in consequence, go out, are well fed, and have no intercourse with their wives. This is probably with a view to increasing their strength.
>
> At their great public festivals they run in this way for wagers, in which each tries to cross the other, and throw him down; if this is accomplished, the person thrown becomes the laughing-stock of the whole company. We were the more astonished at the dexterity shown by them as they run on the dancing-place, which, being paved with smooth stones, must greatly increase the difficulty.

Boys today do a sort of dance on stilts, standing alternately on one and then the other foot and clapping the upper and lower ends of the free shaft against the ends of that holding the weight. I have been told that in the ancient days men used to be able to turn a sommersault, rotating the body heels-over-head. The shafts of the stilts were always held in the hand, never bound to the legs.

LANCE-THROWING

The sport called *teka* consisted in glancing light lances from the ground, with the object of attaining the greatest distance. The lance (*teka* or *tekao*) used was a pointed reed stem (*kakaho*) from one to two yards in length. The course would be any open and level roadway that offered a long enough straight-away. Two round-topped mounds (*uma*) a few

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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music is not the only criterion of musical sense. The inadaptibility of the Marquesans to our music is directly in line with their evident inability to assimilate European culture or any important elements in it, which apparently results from pride and independence of character, and an intense love of their own ways of living.

Individuals sang alone when they chanted spells, or as they accompanied work with a song; priests sometimes intoned the sacred chants alone; and it is probable that a type of love song, called *uta*, of which every individual possessed one of his own, was sometimes sung alone, though it appears usually to have been performed by a chorus. It is the choral singing, however, that distinguishes Marquesans as a musical people. The records of the melodies of a few of the choral chants presented in this paper can give little suggestion of what must have been their effect when sung, with the energy characteristic of the Marquesans, by many voices to the accompaniment of clapping and drums.

When the head of a family or tribe desired to have a song or songs prepared for some festivity, the first step was to employ an adept (*tuhuna*) skilled in composition and teaching. The composer retired into seclusion to evolve from his mind the verses and melody. Sometimes a small house (*oho au*) was especially built for him by his employer, who supplied him with food during the time that he was thus working alone. After his compositions were ready, the next step was the assembling and teaching of the chorus that was to perform them. For teaching the tapu chants for important occasions, a special house was built to accommodate the singers. They dwelt in the singing house, were not allowed any indulgence of their sexual instincts, and were fed by the family for whom the chant was being prepared. The composer himself taught his chants to the chorus, all members of which, like the teacher, were subject to certain restrictions during the period of training. The type of chant determined the nature of the chorus. For example: the *pipine*, performed in honor of a maiden, was sung by a chorus of young girls; the *rari* and *uhaki*, recreational and funeral songs, respectively, by mixed choruses; the *nato* by a chorus of men of all ages; and the *pu'e*, the solemn creational chant, by old men. Every chorus had a leader (*kahua*), a man or a woman with a strong voice and musical ability, who started and directed the singing.

In the native nomenclature three voices (*eo*) are distinguished: *a'o* deep; *vavena*, medium (literally, "middle"); and *ma una*, high (literally, "on top"). There are these three voices for both men and women, corresponding roughly, no doubt, to bass, baritone, and tenor; and to contralto, mezzo-soprano, and soprano. Registers between these are designated descriptively, as *ma una o te eo i vavena*, just above the medium voice;

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304 343 561 The *oho'au tiki*, together with a sleeping house and a cook house, which were placed on a stone *paepae* near a *me'ae* (sacred place), or a *tohua* (public place), was erected for the first-born or adopted boy *(matahiapo)*, other sons usually being *ka'ioi* and achieving their tattooing piecemeal and gratis in the *oho'au* of the *opou*. This house, which belonged with all its appurtenances to the *opou* and not to the *ka'ioi* who built it—although they slept in it during the period of the operation—was [283] carefully built, though it was lashed with the coarse strips of hibiscus bark rather than with the finely braided *pu'ukaha* or coconut fiber cord usual in other dwellings. Melville might seem to suggest a different custom in Hiva Oa from that of Nuku Hiva in the description of the tattooing's being performed in large houses belonging to the *tuhuna* themselves (12, p. 48-49); but all modern recollection in Hiva Oa is of the similar custom of building the special *oho'au* for the *opou*. It may be said in passing that neither Melville's descriptions of the spacious houses of the *tuhuna* with their numerous small apartments set apart by screens of tapa for private patients and of the small tents of coarse tapa erected by itinerant *tuhuna* for patients at the times of religious festivals, nor Langsdorff's account of the operation for persons in middling station being performed in houses erected for the purpose by the tattooers and tabooed by authority (10, p. 120), are corroborated in the information gathered last year in the Marquesas. The Russian says further that the women were not, like the men, shut up in a tabooed house during the operation, but that it was performed without ceremony in their own houses or in those of relatives. This is corroborated today, particularly on Nuku Hiva; though sometimes, we are told, a small house called the *fa'e po'a (po'a*, coconut thatching*)* was built alongside the family dwelling for the tattooing of a girl and in it lived the whole family during the entire period of the operation, the main house being *tapu*, though the *fa'e po'a* was not.

304 343 834 The *oho'au tiki*, itself, which we must take as the usual scene of the operation, was very *tapu* to outsiders. Those who entered it could have nothing to do with women, who were spoken of at this time as *vehine pu'atea (pu'atea*, a kind of tree with soft wood). Indeed these men must hide if a woman were even sighted at a distance, and it was necessary for them to cook for themselves. The men who held the legs and arms of 304 262 the *opou*, and who fanned flies during the work, were especially *tapu* and had to be served with special food. There seems to have been no regular food *tapu* for the patients during the period of the operation, though according to early visitors, there were dietary restrictions apparently for the sake of health. Garcia says the patients were forbidden for several days to take certain kinds of nourishment, such as pig and

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Before the coming of the *tuhuna*, the father of the *opou* had prepared the pigment *(hinu)*. The preparation of this was a very *tapu* operation, the man making it being forbidden all relationship with women during the period; and, according to Lesson (1, p. 107-108), it was necessary for a virgin to aid him in the work. The shells of the *ama* nut *(Aleurites triloba)* were heated so as to open easily (7, p. 45), and the kernels placed over a fire in a kind of pocket of stones which allowed the smoke to ascend through a small passageway in order to collect on a smooth stone *(pa'e hinu)*. Upon this stone a constant tapping was kept up while the soot collected to the depth of about an inch. This process, according to Berchon, was called *amahi ama*. The soot-covered *pa'e hinu* was then placed on a banana leaf and left in the sun to dry, being kept thus until the *tuhuna* arrived for his work. Thereupon, the father, according to present-day information, mixed the soot with plain water in a small coconut shell *(ipu hinu)* and gave it to the artist. Marchand Langsdorff, and Porter agree upon water as the solvent; but Berchon further reports that the ink, which he calls *kaahi*, was made by mixing the soot with coconut oil; while Melville (13, p. 246) gives vegetable juice as the liquid. He and Langsdorff describe the use of the ashes, rather than the soot, of this nut kernel, and Porter thought burnt and powdered coconut shell was used, but apparently no other pigment save carbon was ever employed in the Marquesas, as all early voyagers remark only the dark blue or blackish coloring. (See 15, p. 16; 14, p. 78; 10, p. 118; 8, p. 155; 13, p. 158). Jardin (7) speaks of carbonizing and pulverizing the kernels of the *ama* and mixing the powder with water to trace the designs on the body, and it may be that the residue of the burnt nuts was so used.

When the *tuhuna* arrived, bringing his instruments in a bamboo case seven or eight inches long *(pukohe fau hinu)*, stoppered with a wad of tapa, he spread them out upon a piece of tapa on the ground, ready for use. The instrument is generally known as *ta* (to strike), but Berchon (1, p. 110) gives the following nomenclature for its various parts: *ta'a* (a point) for the toothed end, *kakaho* (reed or cane) for the horizontal support of the teeth, and *ta-tiki* (strike-*tiki*) for the baton (Berchon, p. 110). There was always an assortment of these toothed ends of varying fineness or coarseness appropriate for all grades of work from the delicate hair lines to solid patches. The flat instruments for straight lines and gradual curves were of human bone, sometimes of the bones of enemy sacrifices *(ivi heana)*. They were about three inches long, flat and slightly wedge-shaped, and toothed or comblike at the end. Instruments for the smaller curves were of the bones of the *kena (Sula piscatrix)*,

/38 cont./

Girls prefer males who are quite virile in the Marquesan sense of the word, i.e., are capable of frequent quick copulations. A male who is gentle and considerate in the sex act and who is witty and flattering is very much preferred. 832

During daylight hours the boys are generally occupied in routine economic tasks as are the girls, whether alone or in groups. The contacts that occur between boys and girls in such situations are marked by a general shyness and coolness on the part of the girls. When a couple are interested in each other, it is concealed by a studied indifference which is, of course, as much of an indication to the observer as hand-holding and the usual U. S. A. teen-age bill-and-coo. Joking is characteristic of interaction between groups of potential mates. It is usually of a slightly off-color nature, loud, and directed at no individual in particular but at the group of the opposite sex as a whole. In such joking it is customary to make use of a teen-age "language" of seemingly innocuous terms which have been invested, by virtue of some recent happening, with special sexual significance or meaning. The "language" varies markedly from place to place because it is so dependent on in-group events. It fluctuates rapidly within a given locale because new happenings constantly produce new words. 883 834 883 522 198 834

An example of the type of words involved is provided by a term used in the teen-age language of Hatiheu in 1957. The word -- puta'a ta'a -- /39/ objectively designated conch Murex ramosus, but was used by the adolescents to refer to the vulva. Another linguistic trait is the use of one of a variety of formerly common adult secret languages, involving "pig latin." The most common of these is known as Te'eo uhitua -- the language of Uhitu'a (a valley in the Hapa'a region of Nuku Hiva). According to legend, all Uhitua people talked in pig latin. [173]

This language is sometimes used in the joking and banter between teen-agers and may also be used in person-to-person meetings of two lovers. Some examples are given below:

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Marquesan		Uhi tua
pehea 'oe?	(where are you going)	peheiherea o'oe'oroe
makimaki	(want or desire)	ma'i ma'i maraki
to'e	(clitoris)	to'i to'etoroe
eue	(erect penis)	e'ui'urue
pipirio	(vulva)	pi'i pi'i pirio
tea tea	(semen)	teate'i terea

Also used in joking exchanges are secret nicknames which are not usually known by the person to whom they are applied. Thus, an individual may be discussed in very derogatory fashion in his very presence. Much mocking impersonation is also used, as the Marquesans are inclined to study minor idiosyncracies in order to be able to mimic their possessor. [551]

Female coyness at chance encounters with groups of boys often results in what amounts to athletic contests. A group of girls will approach a group /40/ of boys on a path and shout some type of insults. The boys will respond and try to stop the girls, who run and hide. The boys then run after them but do not catch up. The girls run again and again the boys give chase. Finally, the girls when overtaken act as though nothing had happened, and display a somewhat arrogant attitude toward the boys. 834 883 883

Soccer has been introduced by missionaries as a recreation with the added hoped-for benefit that it will prove fatiguing enough to cut down nocturnal activity. In each valley, formal adult teams are organized but children and adolescents play also, usually on Sundays after church. The same kind of rough joking insults and athletic competitiveness between potential sexual partners is to be noted in these games. Boys often become sexually aroused to the point of complete erection of the penis, which serves as a further source of jokes and banter. No real attempts are made to hide the erection and the boy will continue playing. I once witnessed a boy play soccer for nearly two hours with a constant erection, in front of the church in Hatiheu. 526 832 [177] [197]

Although the everyday public contacts between boys and girls are marked by the indifference and generally rough conduct 832 883

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argyrostoma). Therefore, the glans characteristic of this type was probably quite large, circular in section, possessing a blunt terminus and possibly a slightly everted urethral meatus.

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Marquesan males are quite careful to conceal their genitals in the presence of strange Europeans. It would thus be easy for a short-term observer to be completely misled and attribute intense modesty to them. /52/ Such modesty would be completely erroneous, however. Complete nudity is quite common among male groups, especially in fishing parties or in bathing groups, where no attempts are made to conceal the genitals. In such groups, there is a continual undercurrent of sexual horseplay and joking involving the qualities of the genitalia of those present. Some of this verges on the homosexual as will be discussed below. Males will also construct female torsos in the wet sand at the waters edge, and copulate with them briefly, or pile and rub wet sand gently around the penis while seated at the waters edge or in the shallows. There is much concealed curiosity among Marquesans over the genital anatomy of Europeans, particularly regarding the foreskin and results of circumcision in general, as well as for the inevitable comparisons of size.

[571]
[291]
[532]
[826]
[609]

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In adolescence, homosexuality among males appears with sharply increased frequency. An explanation of the term "homosexual" in Marquesan terms is necessary before proceeding further. Although we will discuss under this general rubric all the behavior that our society would label as homosexual, the Marquesans divide their behavioral continuum differently. Acts of homosexuality are accepted as a substitute for heterosexual relations in time of scarcity of women and as especially characteristic of adolescent behavior. On the other hand, habitual homosexuality, in which female company is eschewed almost entirely and male lovers are taken, earns the appelation of mahu -- deviate. Such conduct in the male is usually associated with transvestitism to varying degrees, assumption of female economic roles and

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two and three hundred people, such as one finds in most valleys. Furthermore, one or both partners will brag to confidants who will immediately spread the news.

Extramarital relations, if discovered, usually arouse 684 extreme manifestations of sexual jealousy (to makou) in the [152] injured party. Wives who are known or suspected to have had extramarital relations are generally beaten by their husbands. Often the beating is rather light, with slapping blows directed about the head and shoulders. More rarely, a closed fist is used. It is very rare that any objects are used to inflict injury. One individual was encountered who punished his wife's indiscretions by beating her with a stick or the flat of his machete, but he was regarded as being excessively cruel. It 934 • is regarded as unseemly for a woman to display much interest 837 in any male who is a potential sexual partner, unless he is a very good friend of her husband and highly trusted or already in a permissive sexual relationship with the woman. Women who deviate from this rule of conduct by talking to strangers, especially of topics bordering on sex, or of displaying pleasure in the presence and conversation of another male are likely to [518] be sharply /70/ reprimanded as well as beaten. Older women in a family observe the actions of young daughters-in-law in the household for such misconduct, and may act themselves or relay the information to the husband.

When confronted with actual or suspected infidelity of 837 a mate, the male assumes a posture of righteous anger, but rarely uses physical violence on anyone but his wife. A man may make slighting remarks to one who has cuckolded him, but physical violence is quite rare.

Women who suspect husbands of being unfaithful respond by adapting a behavior pattern in which they display moods of depression and/or shrewish irritability. One informant said that his wife became tearful upon learning of an exploit of his, and spent a day or so sobbing intermittently, saying that he no longer loved her. She then became very aggressive and continually interpreted innocuous statements of his as referring to his paramour, continually ordering him to leave the house and go to the other woman. She then

/97 cont./
relationship the intimacy necessary for sexual instructions was achieved easily. The same informants remarked that instruction of this type was declining at present, due to the "shame" which the topic of sex engendered in contacts between grandparents and grandchildren. It appears, then, that the grandparent-grandchild relationship as a means of transmitting sexual instructions is a rapidly declining aboriginal custom.

Nudity for both sexes was not marked by any stigma in the aboriginal past. In many cases, males went completely naked except for a small ligature which held the foreskin over the glans penis, concealing it. Loin cloths (hami) were also worn by males, often on ceremonial occasions. Women apparently went naked to the waist in general but also appeared in the nude on many occasions. On various occasions, however, women wore a considerable amount of clothing, consisting of a skirt and a mantle of tapa cloth, concealing much of the body.

The present avoidance of nudity, in heterosexual relations, which is so marked among adolescents, appears to be a direct result of the missionary pressure. Since the occupation of the island, the natives have been forced gradually to accept more and more of the standards of clothing set up by the mission; standards which, incidentally, bear little relation to those in the continental culture in which the Marquesan missionaries have originated. The first step appears to have been a ban on /98/ most of the native attire, especially varieties of female attire. Male clothing appears to have caused less concern to the missionaries. Thus, at the end of the nineteenth century, as is shown by von den Steinen's excellent photographs, most of the women wore "Mother Hubbards" a large percentage of the time that they were in situations where numbers of people were about, while men could wear the hami loincloth or some form of European clothing. The hami appears to have gone out in the first quarter of the twentieth century, probably disappearing completely by 1930. The same attitudes and values which have been instilled to produce this assumption of

/98 cont./ 178 797 834 [291]
European clothing habits appears to have also carried over into sexual relations, to the extent that many girls of the present adolescent age-group do not wish to expose their bodies to casual lovers. It is difficult to say whether this prudishness has developed relatively recently, as a result of increased missionary efforts since World War II, or whether it has been gradually developing over a longer period of time. The effects of the mission value system can also be seen in some of the sexual terminology (i.e., nene = "breast," lit. "shame"; [192] pe = "vulva" or "orgasm" lit. "rotten," "infected"; hauhau = "orgasm," lit. "bad").

In comparing the age at which heterosexual relations are 178 864 begun in modern Marquesan culture with the evidence of the aboriginal period, we see some indications that changes may have taken place in the last two centuries. Several historical 175 sources allude to the striking youth of the Marquesan girls who 648 had sexual relations with European visitors. Lisiansky (1814, 864 p. 67) remarks that some 100 females "practised all the arts of /99/ lewd expression and gesture to get aboard.... Among them were some not more than ten years of age." He further states"...these infants rivaled their mothers in the wantonness of their motions and the arts of allurement." Krusenstern (1802, p. 116) also notes a girl of 10 to 12 years of age, brought by her father, engaging in sexual intercourse with sailors. Marchand (p. 109) whose visit was to the southern islands of the archipelago, some years previous to the Krusenstern expedition, reported that he saw 8-year-old girls who were definitely not novices in sexual techniques. He states, however, that he saw four older women hold a young girl and force her to submit to intercourse with a European sailor, indicating that some of this precocity may not have been standard practice in the culture. Krusenstern (ibid) attributed the promiscuity of the girls to the rather mercenary [548] interests of their husbands and fathers who desired certain gifts from the Europeans. He believed that the girls who visited his ships may have been assigned as prostitutes for the express purpose of obtaining metal tools, ornaments, etc. Therefore, the evidence that Marquesan girls may have begun

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heterosexual relations in childhood in the aboriginal period 648
appears to require some qualification, in view of the context 864
in which such sexual relations were observed and reported.
There is more than a hint that the visits of European ships
were of sufficient importance to cause certain norms to be
temporarily abrogated. For this reason, it may be that the
extreme youth of some participants in the historic period
orgies may not be representative of the usual practice; how-
ever, the chances are high that if intercourse for girls did
/100/ not begin before the age of ten, it began not too long
after. The degree of sophistication in sexual technique dis-
played by the young girls seen by the European explorers may
not have been so much a function of experience as of instruc- [603]
tion received from their grandparents.

There is no information about age of first intercourse 833
for males in the aboriginal period, beside Linton's statement 881
that all children began intercourse before puberty, which is 178
evidently true for females. As noted above, however, there 834
is today a strong emotional sanction against males having
heterosexual relations before circumcision, which appears
to derive from the culture's values of cleanliness and general [183]
hygiene. This sanction, I believe, existed in the past with as
much or more potency than it exists today; therefore, it is
highly improbable that much heterosexual activity began
before circumcision for males. However, there is definite
evidence to show that the age of circumcision in the aboriginal
period was considerably younger than in current practice --
between 7 and 12 years of age. Therefore, it appears that
most male children began intercourse somewhat earlier than
at present, when circumcision occurs between 10 and 14.

A great deal has been written about the existence of 114
adolescent's groups which arose informally in early childhood, 883
and subsequently became the ka'ioi youth groups. There 571
appears to be a major difference of opinion among early
ethnographers on the nature and function of the ka'ioi group.
Handy (1923, pp. 39-42) and Linton (1938, pp. 168-9) both
speak of the ka'ioi as a group consisting of members of both
sexes who /101/ spent several years wandering away from

/102 cont./

skills, both profane and religious, which had to be learned at one time or another during youth, it is difficult to believe that a large segment of the young population could be allowed to spend a period of several years in non-productive, unsupervised pursuit of pleasure. I believe that Linton and Handy, in discussing the ka'ioi, were describing a culture contact phenomenon arising in the disintegration of the society; due partially to the complete lack of direction and goals in the society, as well as to the presence of Europeans who continanced and encouraged in youths the kind of loose behavior described for the ka'ioi groups. With the main function of the ka'ioi (as warriors) removed, and mission efforts being devoted to stamping out the practice of tattooing (one of the bonds which held the group together), it is little wonder that the ka'ioi presented a group of aimless pleasure-seekers to the ethnologists of the early 1900's.

There are no data on the patterns of public courtship followed in the aboriginal period, but it appears that the present coyness and restraint exhibited in the presence of others was probably also an aboriginal trait, as it occurs in other areas of Polynesia (as will be discussed below), and /103/ is therefore not an atypical phenomenon for Polynesia.

The adolescent pattern of sexual relationships presents some interesting evidence of the effects of culture change. In the aboriginal period, adolescent sexual relations occurred in much the same contexts as they do at present, with two major exceptions: public intercourse, sanctioned on some occasions in the past, is no longer practiced, and the formalized girls and boys dormitories no longer exist. Otherwise, trysts and chance meetings are the scene for much sexual activity as in former times.

Perhaps the most interesting changes are those which produced the dichotomization of the adolescent and adult female population into "normal" and "promiscuous" groups. In conjunction with this division, there is a trend among younger males to regard some of the behavior traits characteristic of the promiscuous girls and adults of the population -- fellatio-cunnilinctus, the use of varying positions of sexual